Hello, my name is ____________. I'm conducting an Eagleton Poll for Rutgers University.

I'd like to ask a few questions of the YOUNGEST MALE age 18 or older, who is now at home.

(IF NO MALE AT HOME NOW: Then, may I speak with the OLDEST FEMALE age 18 or older who is now at home?)

WHEN RESPONDENT ON PHONE: Hello, my name is ____________. We are conducting a research study on public policy issues in New Jersey.

Your participation is important as only 900 residents have been selected to take part in this study. This will take no more than 15 minutes and your answers are confidential. Confidential means that the research records will include some information about you, such as your first name and phone number. I will keep this information confidential by limiting who can access the data and keeping it on a secure computer requiring a password for access.

Your participation is voluntary, you may end your participation at any time, and you may skip questions you do not want to answer. May I ask the first question?

IF NECESSARY: We are not selling anything, not asking for money, and all your answers will be completely confidential.
IF RESPONDENT DECLINES TO PARTICIPATE, POSSIBLE PROBES:
--Your participation is very important because only 900 people have been randomly selected for this survey and your views will represent many people throughout the state.

IF "DON'T KNOW ENOUGH":
-- There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your opinions. They are just as important as anybody else's.

IF NOT INTERESTED, DON'T WANT TO:
-- Please help me; we could really use your cooperation and we are interested in what you think.

Q1. Gender (BY OBSERVATION)
   1 Male
   2 Female

2009 NJ Election

Q2. Are you NOW registered to vote where you live or haven't you been able to register so far?
   0 No
   1 Yes
   8 Don’t Know
   9 Refused

[ROTATE ORDER OF Q3 AND Q4; RECORD ORDER FOR EACH RESPONDENT]

Q3. Would you say the state of New Jersey is currently going in the right direction or has it gone off on the wrong track?
   1 Right Direction
   2 Wrong Track
   8 Don’t Know
   9 Refused

Q4. Please rate how Governor Jon Corzine is handling his job as Governor. Is it excellent, good, fair, or poor?
   1. Excellent
   2. Good
   3. Fair
   4. Poor
   8. Don’t know
   9. Refused

[END ROTATE ORDER]
Q5. Please rate how the state legislature in Trenton is handling its job. Is it excellent, good, fair, or poor?

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

Q6. There is an election of Governor this fall. How much have you heard about this election? Is it a lot, a little, or none at all?

1. A lot
2. A little
3. None at all
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

[IF Q2 (Voter registration) IS NOT 1, SKIP TO Q18]

[FOLLOWING QUESTIONS Q7-Q17 ASKED OF REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY]

Q7. How closely have you followed news about the election for governor? Very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

1. Very closely
2. Fairly closely
3. Not too closely
4. Not at all closely
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

Q8. For many reasons people do not always vote in elections. How likely is it that you will vote in the election for Governor? Is it very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or are you certain you will not vote?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Will not vote ➔ SKIP TO Q11
7. Already Voted (VOL)
8. Don’t know
9. Refused
Q9. If the election for Governor were today and the candidates were [NAME ALL THREE CANDIDATES, ROTATE ORDER OF CANDIDATE NAMES; READ EXACTLY AS BELOW], who would you vote for?

1. Democrat Jon Corzine  ➔ SKIP TO Q13
2. Republican Chris Christie  ➔ SKIP TO Q13
3. Independent Chris Daggett  ➔ SKIP TO Q12
4. Other (VOL)
5. Don’t Know
6. Refused

[ASK Q10A ONLY IF Q9 IS 4, 8, OR 9]

Q10A. As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to: [READ AND ROTATE NAMES IN SAME ORDER AS Q9]?  

1. Republican Chris Christie
2. Democrat Jon Corzine
3. Independent Chris Daggett
4. Other (VOL)
5. Don’t Know
6. Refused

(SKIP TO Q11)

[ASK Q10B ONLY IF Q9 IS 3 (vote for Daggett)]

Q10B. If Chris Daggett were not running would you vote for Jon Corzine or Chris Christie, or would you not vote?

1. Jon Corzine
2. Chris Christie
3. Would not vote
4. Don’t Know
5. Refused

Q11. How much have you heard about Chris Daggett’s plan to reduce property taxes? Is it a lot, a little, or nothing at all?

1. A lot
2. A little
3. Nothing at all
4. Don’t Know
5. Refused
Is your opinion of **[ROTATE NAMES OF CANDIDATE]** favorable, unfavorable, or haven’t you heard enough about him?

Q12. Chris Christie
Q13. Jon Corzine
Q14. Chris Daggett

1. Favorable
2. Unfavorable
3. Don’t Know Enough
9. Refused

Q15. There have been debates between the three major candidates for governor. Did you watch any debate on television, or listen to it on the radio?

1. Yes
2. No
8. Don’t Know/Don’t Remember
9. Refused

[IF Q8 = 4 (will not vote) SKIP TO Q17]

Q16. Voters will decide whether New Jersey should borrow $400 million to preserve open space, farmland, and historic areas. Do you plan to vote for or against borrowing this money? (IF UNSURE: As of today, which way are you leaning?)

1. For the bond issue
2. Against the bond issue
8. Don’t know/Undecided
9. Refused

Q17. Who did you vote for in the 2008 presidential election, or did you not vote?

1. McCain
2. Obama
3. Someone Else
4. Did not vote
8. Don’t Remember
9. Refused

[END REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY]
Q18. Thinking about advertising you have seen for the governor’s race, how much of it has been negative? Is it none, about a quarter, around half, about three-quarters, or nearly all of it?

1. None
2. About a quarter
3. Around half
4. About three quarters
5. Nearly all of them
6. Don’t Know
7. Refused

Q19. Which of the candidates for governor has been the most negative so far? Is it: [READ 1st FOUR OPTIONS; ROTATE THREE CANDIDATE NAMES]

1. Jon Corzine
2. Chris Christie
3. Chris Daggett
4. Or are they all pretty negative?
5. None of them seems negative (Vol)
6. Corzine and Christie, NOT Daggett (Vol)
7. Don’t Know
8. Refused

Q20. In just one or two words, please tell me what the most important problem is in New Jersey today.

[Record Open Ended]

Q21. Are the candidates for governor spending too much time, the right amount of time, or too little time on this problem?

1. Too much time
2. The right amount
3. Too little time
4. Don’t Know
5. Refused
Q22. Regardless of which candidate for governor you support, which one of the candidates, [ROTATE NAMES] Jon Corzine, Chris Christie, or Chris Daggett, would do the best job solving this problem?

1. Jon Corzine
2. Chris Christie
3. Chris Daggett
4. None (Vol)
5. Don’t Know
6. Refused

[SPLIT BALLOT, ONE-THIRD FOR EACH VERSION]

There has been a lot of talk about plans for health care reform. How likely are you to support a plan that includes [Insert Item]?

[VERSION A]

Q23A a government run insurance option anyone can choose.

[VERSION B]

Q23B an insurance option like Medicare anyone can choose no matter what their age.

[VERSION C]

Q23C a government run insurance option like Medicare anyone can choose no matter what their age.

[Response Options]

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not at all likely
4. Don’t Know
5. Refused

[END SPLIT BALLOT]
Corruption and Ethics

Let’s talk a bit about corruption and ethics.

Q24. Is New Jersey more or less corrupt than other states, or is it about the same?

1. More
2. Less
3. About the same
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

[ROTATE ORDER OF Q24 AND Q25; RECORD ORDER FOR EACH RESPONDENT]

Q25. How much corruption would you say there is in New Jersey POLITICS? Is it a lot, some, only a little, or none at all?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Only a little
4. None at all
8. Don’t Know
9. Refused

Q26. How much corruption would you say there is in New Jersey BUSINESS? Is it a lot, some, only a little, or none at all?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Only a little
4. None at all
8. Don’t Know
9. Refused

[END ROTATE QUESTIONS]

Q27. Recently some legislators accused of corruption had their pay and benefits cut off as soon as they were charged. Is this the right way to deal with an official accused of corruption or should penalties be imposed only after an official is found guilty of a crime?

1. Right way
2. Penalties only after conviction
3. Something else (Vol)
8. Don’t Know
Q28. Should officials who have been accused of corruption be forced to leave office immediately or should they be allowed to stay in office until found guilty?

1. Leave immediately
2. Stay in office
3. Something else (Vol)
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

Q29. Many people are concerned about political corruption in New Jersey, especially about campaign finance and the awarding of government contracts. In your opinion, whose leadership would be most effective in raising ethical standards on these matters? Would it be:

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE ORDER FOR 1-5]

(If respondent gives more than one answer, probe with “If you had to choose only one, which would it be?”)

1. The State legislature
2. The Governor
3. State and Federal Prosecutors
4. Business Leaders
5. Citizen’s Groups
6. Other (Vol)
8. Don’t Know
9. Refused

[SPLIT BALLOT. RANDOM ONE-HALF FOR EACH VERSION]

[VERSION A]

Q30A Given a choice, and if you had to choose, would you prefer: [ROTATE AND READ FIRST TWO RESPONSES]

1 A politician who might be corrupt but could get important things done
2 An honest politician who had trouble making things happen
3 Neither (VOL)
8 Don’t Know
9 Refused
[VERSION B]

Q30B  Do you agree or disagree with this statement: In government, corrupt means are needed to achieve important goals?

1  Agree
2  Disagree
8  Don’t Know
9  Refused

[END SPLIT BALLOT]

[CORRUPTION BATTERY; SPLIT BALLOT; RANDOM ONE-QUARTER FOR EACH VERSION; RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS WITHIN VERSION]

Now I’d like you to think about how corrupt certain activities might be. I will briefly describe an activity and I would like you to tell me how corrupt it is on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being not at all corrupt and 5 being extremely corrupt.

All response options to be coded:

1-5  Scale Response
8  Don’t Know
9  Refused

[VERSION A – MALE OFFICIAL]

Q31A. A policeman asks for money from a speeding driver in exchange for not writing a ticket? [Prompt as needed with response options].

Q32A. A city councilman offers a contract to a campaign contributor without considering other contractors?

Q33A. A Senator puts a person on his government payroll who does no work for the pay?

Q34A. A Governor seeks the opinion of a corporate executive who gave him large campaign contributions?

Q35A. A candidate running for office promises voters that the potholes on their street will be fixed if they vote for him?
[VERSION B – FEMALE OFFICIAL]

Q31B. A policewoman asks for money from a speeding driver in exchange for not writing a ticket?

Q32B. A city councilwoman offers a contract to a campaign contributor without considering other contractors?

Q33B. A Senator puts a person on her government payroll who does no work for the pay?

Q34B. A Governor seeks the opinion of a corporate executive who gave her large campaign contributions?

Q35B. A candidate running for office promises voters that potholes on their street will be fixed if they vote for her?

[VERSION C – MALE CITIZEN]

Q31C. A man caught speeding offered money to a police officer in exchange for not writing a ticket?

Q32C. A campaign contributor asks a city council member to give him a contract without considering other contractors?

Q33C. A man appointed by a senator to a government job does no work for the pay?

Q34C. A corporate executive who gave large campaign contributions offers his opinions to a Governor?

Q35C. A voter agrees to vote for a candidate running for office if he is promised that the potholes on his street will be fixed?

[VERSION D – FEMALE CITIZEN]

Q31D. A woman caught speeding offers money to a police officer in exchange for not writing a ticket?

Q32D. A campaign contributor asks a city council member to give her a contract without considering other contractors?

Q33D. A woman appointed by a senator to a government job does no work for the pay?

Q34D. A corporate executive who gives large campaign contributions offers her opinions to a Governor?
Q35D. A voter agrees to vote for a candidate running for office if she is promised that the potholes on her street will be fixed?

[END SPLIT BALLOT]

[START SPLIT BALLOT; RANDOM ONE-HALF FOR EACH VERSION; SAME RESPONSE CODING].

Now let’s consider a couple more possibilities. Again please tell me on a scale from 1 to 5 how corrupt each of these activities is, with 1 being not at all corrupt, and 5 being extremely corrupt.

[VERSION A]

Q36A. A Republican state legislator raises campaign funds by making phone calls from his taxpayer funded office.

Q37A. A Democratic city official meets privately with developers to talk about their projects.

[VERSION B]

Q36B. A Democratic state legislator raises campaign funds by making phone calls from his taxpayer funded office.

Q37B. A Republican city official meets privately with developers to talk about their projects.

[END SPLIT BALLOT]

[START SPLIT BALLOT. RANDOM ONE-HALF FOR EACH VERSION]

[VERSION A]

[The following questions all start with the stem:] Thinking about political campaigns in general now, how would you feel if a candidate used a negative ad to talk about an opponent’s [INSERT ITEM]. Would you feel very angry, somewhat angry, not very angry, or not at all angry?

[ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS]

Q38A lack of experience.
Q39A prior record in office.
Q40A family.
Q41A position on issues.

[Response options, Q48A – Q51A]

1 Very angry  
2 Somewhat angry  
3 Not very angry  
4 Not at all angry

8 Don’t Know
9 Refusal

Q46A How often do negative ads tell the truth about an opponent? Is it often, sometimes, or rarely?

1 Often  
2 Sometimes  
3 Rarely  
4 Never (Vol)  
8 Don’t Know  
9 Refused

[END VERSION A]

[VERSION B]

[ITEMS TO BE USED FOR THE FOLLOWING QUESTION SETS. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS; ASK BOTH QUESTIONS FOR EACH ITEM. RECORD ORDER FOR EACH RESPONDENT]

Q38B, Q39B lack of experience.  
Q40B, Q41B prior record in office.  
Q42B, Q43B family  
Q44B, Q45B position on political issues

Thinking about political campaigns in general now, I am going to describe some ads political candidates have run in the past. For each, tell me if you think a candidate running such an ad would be running a negative campaign. Let’s start.

(Next), A candidate runs an ad that talks about an opponent’s:

[INSERT ITEM; NOTE THAT THE WORD “NEXT” SHOULD PRECEDE THE STATEMENT FOR THE 2ND THROUGH 4TH ITEMS]:

Would this candidate be running a negative campaign?
[Response options, Q38B, Q40B, Q42B, Q44B]

1 Yes, Negative  
2 No, Not Negative  
3 Depends (Vol)  
8 Don’t Know  
9 Refusal

And how would an ad that talks about an opponent’s [INSERT ITEM] make you feel? Would you feel very angry, somewhat angry, not very angry, or not at all angry?

[Response options, Q39B, Q41B, Q43B, Q45B]

1 Very angry  
2 Somewhat angry  
3 Not very angry  
4 Not at all angry  
8 Don’t Know  
9 Refusal

Q46B How often do ads tell the truth about an opponent? Is it often, sometimes, or rarely?

1 Often  
2 Sometimes  
3 Rarely  
4 Never (Vol)  
8 Don’t Know  
9 Refused

[END SPLIT BALLOT]

Q47 Are negative ads that tell the truth about the opponent much more acceptable, somewhat more acceptable, or no more acceptable than negative ads that do not tell the truth?

1 Much more acceptable  
2 Somewhat more acceptable  
3 No more acceptable  
8 Don’t Know  
9 Refusal
Demographics

We’re almost finished. We have just a few more questions to help us understand our survey results.

Q48. Where do you get MOST of your information about political candidates and campaigns? Is it print newspapers, television news, online news, online discussion like blogs, radio, other people, pr something else?

1 Printed Newspapers
2 Television News
3 Online news
4 Online Discussion like Blogs
5 Radio
6 Other People
7 Something Else
8 Don’t Know
9 Refused

[Q49-52 use the stem:]

How many days in the past week did you:

[Stem can be dropped after Q49; prompt if needed]

Q49 Watch national TV news on a channel like CNN, Fox, ABC, NBC, or CBS.

__ Number of days
8 Don't Know
9 Refusal

Q50 Read a daily printed newspaper?

__ Number of days
8 Don't Know
9 Refusal

Q51 Use the internet to get news?

__ Number of days
8 Don't Know
9 Refusal
Q52. Listen to news on the radio?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Refusal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q53. Every American is represented by a person who is elected to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington. Please tell me the last name of your representative, or if you are not sure of the name, just tell me that you don’t know.

[CODE RESPONSE TO NAME. IF NAME IS NOT ON LIST, CODE TO “OTHER”; IF RESPONDENT GIVES NO ANSWER OR SPECIFIED DON’T KNOW, CODE TO “DON’T KNOW”]

1) Andrews  
2) Ferguson  
3) Frelinghuysen  
4) Garrett  
5) Holt  
6) LoBiondo  
7) Pallone  
8) Pascrell  
9) Payne  
10) Rothman  
11) Saxton  
12) Sires  
13) Smith  
14) Other  
15) Don’t know  
16) Refused

Q54. Thinking of politics, do you consider yourself to be liberal, conservative, or somewhere in between?

1. Liberal  
2. Conservative  
3. Somewhere in between  
4. Other (VOL)  
8. Don’t know (VOL)  
9. Refused (VOL)

Q55. In politics today, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?
1 Democrat
2 Republican
3 Independent
4 Something Else / Other
8 Don’t know (VOL)
9 Refused (VOL)

[IF Q55 IS 3, 4, 8, or 9 ASK Q55A; OTHERWISE SKIP TO Q56]

Q55A. Do you lean more toward the Democratic Party or more toward the Republican Party?

1 Democratic party
2 Republican party
3 Other party (vol)
4 Neither (vol)
8 Don’t know (VOL)
9 Refused (VOL)

Q56. What was the last grade in school you completed? [CODE TO LIST]

1 8th Grade Or Less
2 High School Incomplete (Grades 9, 10 and 11)
3 High School Complete (Grade 12)
4 Vocational/Technical School
5 Some College
6 Junior College Graduate (2 Year, Associates Degree)
7 4 Year College Graduate (Bachelor’s Degree)
8 Graduate Work (Masters, Law/Medical School, Etc.)
9 Refused

Q57. How often do you attend church, synagogue, or other worship services: at least once a week, almost every week, about once a month, seldom or never?

1 At least once a week
2 Almost every week
3 About once a month
4 Seldom
5 Never
8 Don’t Know (Vol)
9 Refused
Q58. Do you consider yourself to be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim, some other religion, atheist or agnostic?

1 Catholic
2 Protestant
3 Jewish
4 Muslim
5 Some other religion
6 Atheist
7 Agnostic
8 Don’t Know
9 Refused

[IF Q58 is 1, 2, 8, or 9 ASK Q59 OTHERWISE SKIP TO Q60]

Q59. Would you describe yourself as a born again or evangelical Christian?

1 Yes
2 No
8 Don’t Know
9 Refused

Q60. What is your current employment status? Are you:

1 Employed full time
2 Employed part time
3 Laid off from a job
4 A homemaker or stay at home parent
5 Retired
6 A student
7 Not Employed
8 Disabled
9 Refused (Vol)

Q61. Are you the parent or guardian of any children under 18 now living in your home?

1 No
2 Yes
8 Don’t Know
9 Refused

Q62. Do you or any member of your household belong to labor union?
Q63. I’m going to read three statements about political parties, and I’d like you to say which one you agree with MOST: [ROTATE; READ FIRST THREE OPTIONS]

[Prompt if needed with “which ONE would you most agree with”]

1. The current two-party system of Democrats and Republicans works well.
2. We need more than two strong political parties to give us more choice.
3. We need elections where candidates run as individuals, without any party labels at all.
4. Don’t know
5. Refused

Q64. What is your age?

_____ (ENTER AGE: 98=98+, 99 = DK/REFUSED)

[IF DK/REFUSED IN Q64, ASK:]

Q64A. Is it between...?

1. 18 - 20
2. 21 - 24
3. 25 - 29
4. THIRTIES (30 - 39)
5. FORTIES (40 - 49)
6. FIFTIES (50 - 59)
7. 60 - 64
8. 65 OR OVER
9. Refused (VOL)

Q65. Are you of Latino or Hispanic origin, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban or some other Spanish background?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don’t know
4. Refused
Q66. Are you white, black or of Asian origin?

1 White
2 Black
3 Asian
4 Hispanic / Latino (VOL)
5 OTHER, SPECIFY: _____________________ (VOL)

8 Don’t know
9 Refused

Q67. Last year, that is in 2008, what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category. [READ LIST]

1 Less than $10,000
2 10 to under $20,000
3 20 to under $30,000
4 30 to under $40,000
5 40 to under $50,000
6 50 to under $75,000
7 75 to under $100,000
8 100 to under $150,000
9 $150,000 or more
10 [VOL. – DO NOT READ] Don't know/Refused

Q68. In what county do you live?

01 Atlantic 08 Gloucester 15 Ocean
02 Bergen 09 Hudson 16 Passaic
03 Burlington 10 Hunterdon 17 Salem
04 Camden 11 Mercer 18 Somerset
05 Cape May 12 Middlesex 19 Sussex
06 Cumberland 13 Monmouth 20 Union
07 Essex 14 Morris 21 Warren
99 Don't Know / Refused (VOL)

Q69. What is your zipcode?

_______ Enter Zipcode
8 Don’t know (Vol.)
9 Refused (Vol.)
Q70. I appreciate the time you’ve given me. You’ve been very helpful. We may be interested in calling you back after the election to ask you some more questions. If you would be willing, could you please give me your first name?

ENTER FIRST NAME
If unwilling, leave blank and skip to end.

Q71. Thank you. And let me verify your phone number. Can I best reach you again at [READ NUMBER]?

[IF NO]: Could you tell me the number we should use?

ENTER NUMBER

Closing and Additional Informed Consent Language

That completes our survey. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. If you have any questions about this survey, you may contact Dr. David Redlawsk (pronounced RED-losk) at 732-932-9384, ext. 285. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the administrator of the Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University at: 732-932-0150, ext. 2104. Have a good day/evening.